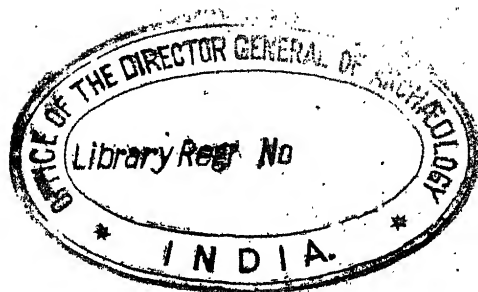


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CONTRIBUTION
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TO
THE HISTORY OF THE ISLE OF MAN

13734 BY

FREDERICK SWYNNERTON,
*Corresponding Member of the Isle of Man Natural
History and Antiquarian Society.*

Three Short Papers Corrected and Reprinted

FROM

"YN LIOAR MANNINAGH"

The Quarterly of the above Society, with a few additional notes.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES.

The following short papers have no other merit than of being statements of facts, or of reasonable inferences which those facts have suggested, except that the first paper may perhaps claim a little more consideration as being the record of the first Neolithic camp floor, or settlement-site found in the Isle of Man, which discovery opened up a new line of research in Manx archaeology. See the remarks of Mr. P. M. C. Kermodé, M.B.O.U., M.I.P.C., F.S.A. Scot, Honorary Secretary Isle of Man Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Society, at the end of his paper on "Flint Implements from the Brooghs, N. Ramsey," *Yn Lioar Manninagh*, No. 5, Vol. 1, 1891, where he, and no one was better informed, writes of his "find" as "this the second instance yet made known of an early Neolithic Floor in the Isle of Man, that at Port St. Mary, found by Mr. F. Swinnerton being, I believe, the first."

Previous to 1882—see Manx Note Book, No. 2, 1885,—although chance "finds" of worked flints had occurred here and there in the Isle of Man, no attempt had been made in the Isle of Man, if elsewhere, to establish their real significance. Indeed up to that time a learned and talented clergyman, much interested in Manx antiquities, frequently expressed the opinion that as the chalk measures were absent from the island, such flint nodules as were found there must have been brought to the island in modern times as ship's ballast, and consequently Neolithic flint implements, etc., could not be found in the Isle of Man. Nor has he been the last who has ignored the possible derived contents of the boulder clay, in deciding as to what does, or does not belong to the Isle of

Man. That little attention was given to the occurrence of rude flint implements in the Isle of Man is shewn by the fact that this description of pre-historic remains from the island was represented in the British Museum by three simple flakes.

The fact that during Neolithic times there were coast-dwelling people in an extremely low stage of culture in the Isle of Man, was quite unknown, although suspicions may have existed that similar condition as had prevailed in the rest of Europe, might also have obtained in Man. The results of this "find" having been made public, other discoveries of similar remains rapidly followed, and the matter is now beyond dispute.

On the occasion of my first "find," I submitted the evidences first to Sir John Lubbock (now Lord Avebury) who pronounced them to be of undoubted human workmanship, and later, together with my paper on the subject, to Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins. I was fortunate both in finding a great portion of this Neolithic camp-floor in an undisturbed condition, and the generous corroboration of such an eminent archaeologist to back up my conclusions. More recent discoveries of my own.(1) and of others have thrown additional light upon the state of being of these Manx aborigines, and have conclusively proved that in Neolithic times the east coast of the south of the island, and elsewhere, and inferentially the coast all round the Isle of Man was inhabited by a rude fishing and hunting population who lived in more or less permanent and

(1) "Finds in Rushen," and a short paper on my recent (1907) discovery at Poilvaish to be published I am promised, by the Isle of Man Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Society. I think I am right in stating that in spite of Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins' corroboration of my conclusions, etc, this Port St. Mary paper was not included among the republished papers in the volumes of the Isle of Man Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Society, nor the one on the Glen Wyllin "find."

probably fortified settlements along the "brooghs." (2) The small size of the island whose physical features appear to have changed very little since these people lived, seems to be a good argument against the idea that they were nomads as has been suggested. For unless the population was an exceedingly scanty one, it would have been forced to adopt more or less settled habits and fixed habitations much sooner than if there had been vast uninhabited tracts to roam over. The remains show they lived very largely on shell-fish, and it is very probable that the dug-out canoes which have been found on the island, belong to these people. (2A) How long this stage of savagery prevailed in the Isle of Man; how long the use of the ruder forms of implements lasted until the making of polished stone implements had been learned, etc., are necessarily undetermined questions, as is also whether or not the use of stone implements persisted into historic times in the Isle of Man,—which however might possibly be ascertained.

We have really very little knowledge of the state of the island even in ancient historic times. Such evidences as we have go to show that it was not much more densely wooded than it is at present. (3) Records and legends indicate that large game abounded in the middle ages. But very little if any systematic work has been done to show what the condition of the island was in pre-historic times. The efforts of local naturalists, etc., are mostly devoted to recording the fauna and flora of the present day. And however interesting and valuable a pursuit this may be, it cannot in the nature

(2) Broogh, Eng. Brow,—land bordering the sea-shore with a more or less steep descent to it. (2A) A "dug-out" canoe was found on top of a "broogh" in German, Isle of Man, under the soil.

(3) "we know from our records that woods have been, and are, conspicuous by their absence." Moore's "Surnames and Place-names" of the Isle of Man," page 199. But these records throw no light on the physical condition of the island for many centuries after the beginning of our era. Extensive deforestation may have taken place during the Norse period, for the building of ships.

of things be expected to furnish much that is not already well known, the island having few things in Natural History, etc., that are peculiar to it.(4) Yet the work of the Danish naturalists, etc. in showing the state of Denmark in pre-historic times by the examination of the contents of the bogs and peat-beds of Denmark if imitated by Manx naturalists, would provide them with a fresh field for their energies, and might lighten the darkness surrounding our knowledge of the primaeval physical condition of the Isle of Man. Chance discoveries of remains of animals now extinct on the island,—of the Irish Elk, of deer, etc., shew that such a field for enquiry does really exist, and that it is only waiting the adoption of a systematic plan of operations to yield very important results.

In the same way these Neolithic settlement-sites have not received the attention that their importance as historical evidences deserves. Several have been pointed out by myself as well as by others, and yet no exhaustive examination of such places has been carried out by the local Antiquarian Society. And we still find things ascribed to Neolithic times without a stroke having been dealt to establish their real origin. Among these are the ancient earthwork "forts" and "camps" formerly known as "Danish forts," but now ascribed to the Neolithic period, without there being quite sufficient grounds either for the abandonment of the Norse origin,

(4) See the Rev. J. Quine's remarks on "The Study of Natural History in the Isle of Man" *Yn Lioar Manninagh* No. 7, Vol. 1, "In the study of Natural History the Isle of Man offers no field for new research and fresh discoveries. The Natural History here must be the study of things already known and familiar to human science." "And in studying the Natural History phenomena that surround us in this part of the world, people will be going through something comparatively as conventional as going to school." These remarks have not prevented the omission from the Society's volumes of records of discoveries that were previously unknown to "human science" as regards the Isle of Man.

or for the acceptation of the Neolithic. (5) For there is some evidence available which suggests that the origin of some of them may lie between the Neolithic and the Norse periods. I refer to this simply because I have not met with the suggestion elsewhere in reference to these Manx earthworks.

The Irish Duns, the use of which persisted down to the 12th. century, and, until in fact they were superseded by strongholds of Norman type, consisted as the name suggests, of several stone-and-earthwork enclosures, protected by fosses, surrounding hills or hillocks. They contained the wattle-and-clay houses of the chiefs, of their families, and immediate dependants, slaves, etc. We read of the "triple-fossed fort of Crimthand the Great"—A. D. 366-379,—a description that might be applied to Castle Ward itself. We are also told that Tuathal—cir. A. D. 160—built in Munster his Dun of Tlachtga,—now, by a curious coincidence, if that is all it is, called the Hill of Ward, near Athboy. Others might be cited, but the foregoing shew that some of these Irish duns belong to historic times.

As these Manx forts, with their several lines of earthworks, appear to have been very similar in construction and plan to the Irish duns, there seems to be more reason for ascribing them to the Irish period in Man than to the Neolithic period. They may have been used in Neolithic times, but what certain evidence is there on that point? Both Castle Ward and Cronk Moar have rings on top, which though obviously too small to contain many defenders, may very well be the rings left by the decay of wattle-and-clay houses. Similarly Balladoole fort,—which was undoubtedly a fort

(5) "Castle Ward, the name of the curious fortification in Braddan, popularly called 'the Danish Camp,' but probably of Neolithic origin." (Moore's "Surnames and Place-names of the Isle of Man.")

as its great embankments shew—has a quadrangular enclosure on its highest elevation, and, it is to be noted that the primitive circular wattle-and-clay houses in Ireland were succeeded by quadrangular ones built of the same materials. The conversion of Cronk Moar into a small dun does not do away with its original character as a tumulus, but it would account for the fosse round it, which would have been of importance when the tumulus was converted into a dun.

Norman strongholds, like Castle Rushen, must in the Isle of Man as in Ireland, have been preceded by some form of strongholds. As we have nothing remaining excepting these earth-works; as they have been known as "Castles" among the Manx from early times; and considering the affinity in everything else between Man and Ireland down to the 8th century, we are justified in believing that such strongholds must have been of purely Irish type. The incoming Norsemen would of course have occupied and garrisoned these places of strength to dominate the native population, and hence the name "Danish forts" is not altogether inapplicable, seeing that Norsemen were among the last to use them. We know that a "Norse castle" preceded the present Castle Rushen,—probably an earthwork,—and we know from its actual remains that an earthwork preceded the present Peel Castle. But only excavation of the latter will enable us to ascertain its real nature,—whether belonging to the ancient defences of Peel Island in Irish times,—to the Innis Patrick destroyed by the first vikings, (6) or whether it belongs to the Norsemen themselves, who also built rude earthen forts upon the lands

(6) "The annals of Ulster tell us that the earliest incursions of the Vikings took place in A. D. 794, and that in 798 they burned Innis Patrick, probably identical with Peel." Moore's "Surnames and Place-names," page 4, also page 205.

they conquered. It seems probable that a proper examination of these Manx earthworks would make history in the Isle of Man.

The importance of a thorough examination of Neolithic settlement—sites in the Isle of Man, is shewn by the fact that it is only by so doing that we may hope to find evidences that undoubtedly belong to the Neolithic period. For chance surface finds of polished stone axes, and it would seem of bronze swords, are very uncertain foundations to base conclusions upon. See statements by W. K. Sullivan, President of Queen's College, Cork, (Ency. Brit.) He writes.—

“It is probable that bronze lance-heads and swords were used (in Ireland) down to early Christian times, and later.”

“Some (Irish soldiers) carried stone hammers or war-axes, and in the 9th and succeeding centuries an iron one, the use of which was learned from the Norsemen.”

That much remains to be discovered in such sites is suggested by my recent discovery at Pooilvaish (in 1907) of two unholed and ground stone adzes,—which are neither “rubbing-stones” nor axes as was at first thought. These implements are, I believe, the only ones of the type ever found in the Isle of Man, and from what I can gather, are peculiar to the Isle of Man. They prove the contemporaneous use of the ruder sort of flint implements, and of ground and perhaps polished stone implements in the Isle of Man. They shew that ground and probably polished stone implements were made in the Isle of Man, hasty conclusions to the contrary notwithstanding. They suggest their possible former use for hollowing out tree-trunk canoes. An attentive examination of them shews that the manner of hewing and finishing stone work which is now in use, dates from prehistoric times, and that the “points” and “picks” and flat chisels of the modern stone cutter, had their analogues of flint and of quartz among

pre-historic stone cutters. Their peculiar shape shews, what might have been expected, that the peculiar conditions which governed Manx pre-historic people, gave rise to peculiar implements. I should have incorporated my short paper on this find in this pamphlet, but its publication has been deferred by the Isle of Man. Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Society.

Whether corn was grown in the Isle of Man in Neolithic times, properly speaking,—as it is known from the remains found in the Lake Settlements, to have been cultivated in large and advanced Stone Age centres like Switzerland, there is no reliable evidence to shew. To conclude that such was the case in the Isle of Man simply because it was so elsewhere, although an easy way of summing up things which is frequently adopted, would be as reasonable as to conclude from evidences found in Middlesex, that a similar state of civilization flourished during the middle ages in London and at John O'Groats. Hand-mills found in the Isle of Man are no very certain evidences of a primitive environment, seeing that in Italy they have been in constant use from the earliest Etruscan times to the present day. In regard to the so-called "corn-crushers" or "rubbing-stones," it would be rash without further evidence that they by themselves furnish, to conclude that any of them belong to Neolithic times, and even if they are found associated with undoubted Neolithic remains, to regard them as necessarily "corn" crushers. Pounders and mortars, rubbing stones, stone rollers, etc., are, and have been in use among both savage and civilized peoples contemporaneously with hand-mills, and for quite other purposes than grinding or husking corn. For instance in India, a pounder or "rubbing-stone" and a flat stone with a concave surface are used in the preparation of curries by every native cook, by sweetmeat makers, etc., but corn is ground by handmills, or in the hills, by water-mills worked by wooden

turbines! Large stone mortars are also found outside the houses in every native village. Such stones found in the Isle of Man may have been used in various ways in the preparation of food, without their use as corn-crushers ever having been dreamed of. Our ignorance of the domestic habits and wants of extinct races frequently cause hard and fast conclusion to be drawn from things which, most likely, have quite an unsuspected bearing.

Though the use of stone implements, etc., must have been common to Man and to the rest of Europe at some one time, it may, and most likely did, last much longer in the Isle of Man, than in Switzerland and France, seeing that those countries were, in parts at least, still in *their* stone Age, after it had given way to the use of metal in Egypt, and in other countries bordering on the Mediterranean. The Andaman Islanders have remained savages, in spite of being long known to the adjacent civilized continental nations, and we have positively no reason to conclude that the Neolithic aborigines of the Isle of Man were capable of becoming civilized. Our ideas as to what race they belonged are pure suppositions, seeing that nothing has been done in the Isle of Man to establish their relationship to the supposed European aboriginal Iberian stock. The study of the most ancient crania found in Europe, indicate^s that even at such early periods, there had already been an admixture of races. On account of their remote western and insular position, it necessarily follows that people in the Isle of Man, during the general reign of the Stone Age, must have been in a more backward state than were Continental people, and the peculiar conditions under which they lived, must have given rise to some peculiarities in their habits, their implements, etc. These remarks are intended to suggest, that the conditions which prevailed in the Isle of Man during the Stone Age, ought to be regarded as separate and peculiar, and worthy of more attention than

they have yet received, or if doctrinaire opinions take the place of thorough investigation, than they are likely to receive.

Again, as the use of various primitive appliances persisted in the Isle of Man for centuries after they had given place to more civilized things elsewhere, so we may suppose with some reason that many of the rude appliances of the Stone Age, its superstitions and social observances, would have persisted in Man long after they had disappeared from most parts of Europe. In fact some of these appliances and superstitions appear to have lasted down to our own day. For instance, the Claghbane superstition, which has most likely a Neolithic origin; the idea of propitiating or averting evil influences by sacrifice, as suggested by the formal burning of an "overlooked" or supposed evil-eyed pig in Rushen in recent times; hanging coloured rags on bushes near wells, etc. Among primitive appliances, may be mentioned the shell lamp quite recently in use, which was no improvement on the lamp of Eskimo savages, and which probably has a respectable pedigree back to the times of the Manx aborigines; and car-ranes, the most primitive form of foot covering of untanned hide, lately in use. It is not necessary to detail various superstitions and observances that point to primitive beliefs, nature-worship, etc.

That the use of the shell lamp should have persisted so long, shews a remarkable conservatism in regard to one of the prime essentials of civilization, on the part of people who had been in touch for many centuries with a high civilization around them, and it shews how sweeping conclusions as to identical conditions among neighbouring peoples, may be disproved by known facts. A sturdy and virile contempt for the luxuries of life may be put forward as the cause of this lack of inventiveness on the part of the Manx, but it is more

likely that it was due to an inherited conservatism, plus that the potter's art was never sufficiently advanced, in the Isle of Man, to replace the primitive shell lamp by terra cotta ones, such as had been in general use among the Greeks and Romans, and in Britain, thousands of years before; the potter's art in the Isle of Man having been, besides, largely discounted by the common use of plates and platters of wood. But the latter reason cannot be advanced as the cause of the persistence among the Manx down to forty years ago, of several very primitive manners and customs, which, together with the national language, and even the dialect, are unknown to the better educated youth of to-day.

That this conservative spirit has been a constant factor among the Manx in the past, is evidenced by the absence on the island, of anything remarkable of truly indigenous character,—unless we except Neolithic monuments. Early Christian art seems to have been of Irish or Scandinavian origin. The form of government now peculiar to the island, is really exotic. Such architecture as we have is all of foreign origin, and as regards literature and music, there is nothing that can claim any importance. This conservative spirit seems in time to have conquered all new settlers in Man, in spite of the fact that the mixture of so much fresh blood with the aboriginal stock,—Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Scandinavian and English, and which makes the term “pure Manx people” an absurdity,—might have been expected to have had other results. But as it really only gave way before the modern advent of new appliances and new ideas from “across the water,” as exemplified, in our own day, by the abolition of the ancient jealously exclusive form of the House of Keys,—it would seem that if it had not been disturbed from without, it would have continued unchanged, to the present, or a future day. It is a necessary factor to be taken into consideration,—this pure Manx conservatism, or dislike of outsiders, their ideas and

innovations, in treating of Manx pre-historic remains, as it suggests that aboriginal appliances, ideas, prejudices, and culture in general, may have been jealously retained, and may have lingered on in Man well into historic times.

It must be remembered too, as a favouring condition to the persistence of the rudest stage of society, that in the early centuries of our era, the Isle of Man must have been exposed to influences from without, tending to keep its scanty population in a backward, poor, and even savage state. The ancient Irish legend anent the carrying-off of Blathnat, the daughter of the king of Man, (7) by Cúruí Mac Dáiri and his companion Cuchulaind, even if not true,—though it may, as may the Homeric tale, founded on a similar act of violence, enclose a kernel of truth,—was probably *bien trouvé* having regard to the manners and customs of

(7) Blathnat. Her father's name was Píall. Píall is probably the same as the Welsh Pwyll. The wife of Pwyll was Rhianon who came from Annwn, and whose name seems to come from "annan." She had marvellous birds whose singing kept warriors in an enchanted sleep for eighty years. On the death of Pwyll she married Manawyddan Ap. Llyr. (Ency Brit.) The Welsh "annwn" is probably the same as "annan" in Manannan, and in meaning it corresponds to the Irish Tir Tairngire Elysium. (Ibid).

The Irish Tir Tairngire was supposed to be an island to the east shrouded in a cloud mantle. (Ibid).

The Isle of Man is said in Manx legend—probably the most ancient Manx legend extant—to have been kept hidden in a perpetual mist by the magic arts of Manannan Mac Lir,

"Manannan" is said to mean "Lord of the Foamy Sea." (Ibid).

If Manannan means "God of the Sea" (Mannus, according to Tacitus, was a god of the ancient Germans.) how is that to be reconciled with Lir being the Celtic Neptune? If "annan" contained the name of the island it would not be surprising, as he appears to have been its guardian deity. Unless, as in the case of Zeus and Chronos, Lir belonged to a more primitive pantheon, and was regarded as the father, because the predecessor, of Manannan.

Cæsar probably wrote Mōna as the nearest approach to the pronunciation of his Briton and perhaps Druid informants, of some form of the Welsh Manaw. The Icelandic "Mön" and the Malbricht-Gaut Cross "Maun" suggest that this must have been Mōnaw or Maunaw. If there is nothing impossible in this idea, we might infer—Mōnannan, Mōnann, Mōn,—a progressive curtailment of terminal syllables in the two last.

lawless peoples. The fate which is said to have befallen this Manx Helen, gives us a glimpse of what was probably a common thing in those bloodstained times, when a constant watch had to be kept on the hill-tops, to guard the isle from the incursions and merciless harryings from all sides, of well armed and savage freebooters, intent on the violent acquisition of cattle, corn, slaves, and concubines; times, which necessitated the possession of many strongly entrenched earthworks in convenient places, and which must have rendered difficult, efforts to cultivate the ground to any great extent, or, perilous the attempt to accumulate wealth. From the 6th century backwards, so far as Man is concerned, all is blank pre-historic, whose details, if we knew the facts, would probably have to be filled in with deeds of murder and rapine from without and from within, when even women fought as soldiers; and, for all we know as a certainty to

The personification of the Tuatha Dé Danann pantheon, properly speaking, occupies a prominent place, belong to pre-historic personifications of qualities, or of real things, as Lir, the sea. They suggest that their probable origin lay in nature-worship. If Manannan is accepted as having been a real person, why should we not accept his father Lir, his son Gaiar, his supposed grand mother Ana, "mother of the gods," or any other or indeed all of the gods and goddesses of that pantheon as having been real persons? His being linked with the sea, Lir confirms, rather than suggests, that he also was a deity, the thing he personified, to have arisen from, to have been closely connected in some way with, have, in a sense, dominated the actual sea. The position of Man in the middle of the sea would have made the name "Lord of the sea" most appropriate to it,—especially among a primitive, and perhaps poetical, people who viewed it from a distance, and who, as in the case of a deity of quality, or striking natural object. The process, dwindled into the mere "Man," may thus have been first given to the island itself, and later to its personification. All mythologies furnish parallel instances, and by a similar course of reasoning by which it seems to have been definitely decided that the Irish Manannan was a real person who gave his name to Man, we might conclude, if we knew no better, that the Roman Britannia was a real person who gave her name to Britain.

Surely too much importance may also be given to the apparent Celtic origin of these legends, seeing that they may have been taken over from the aborigines of Ireland by the early Celts? To suppose, for instance, that the pre-Celtic people of Ireland had no name for the island, and no peculiar ideas regarding it, would be unreasonable, and if such ideas were learned, and adopted, along with some of the country gods, by the Celts, or rather

the contrary, aboriginal Neolithic savagery may have persisted, in places, at any rate in the Isle of Man, down to the beginning of our era. The proper investigation of these Neolithic settlement-sites, is therefore a matter of urgent historical necessity.

The types of rude stone implements which I have found in Rushen, are, for the most part, such as are found scattered all over the world's surface. I have found similar forms, though, as a rule, of more massive character, and of quartzite, jasper, chert, lydite, etc., instead of flint, on the shores of Bombay Island; ("Rude Stone Implements from Back Bay, Bombay" illustrated—Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, No. 4, Vol. III. 1893.) in the ancient Gwalior alluvium, and on the surface at Raipur, Rajputana; (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. II. N. S. 1899) on the flat-topped hills near Chunar, C. P., and at Kukkerhuttee, and other places in the lower

by the mixed population which they must have formed with the subject people, it would have been only what has occurred elsewhere under similar circumstances. A thousand years after the introduction of Christianity into the Isle of Man, the nature-god Phynodderee still exercised an influence, scarcely to be appreciated now-a-days, on the minds of Manx men and women.

The next process, persisted in to our own day, would have been to convert the nature-god Manannan into a real person, and on the strength of the discredited beliefs of a dead religion, to conclude that he must have been the first to colonize the island, its first king, etc; to suppose that he gave his name to what his name was really derived from; and as with other mythical characters, to mix him up with the doings of heroes of the semi-historic period, thus giving a purely mythological character a semi-historical importance.

It would be an interesting study to search through the old Irish and Welsh legends for any possible references to the Isle of Man.

In one of the Welsh poems, derived from the Irish, as some of them are, *Caer Side*, where neither old age or disease affected anyone, is called the prison of *Gweir*. *Gweir* is held to be the same as the Irish *Gaiar*, son of *Manannan*, and *Caer Side* the same as the Irish *Sid*, the residence of the gods of the *Aes Side*. (*Ency. Brit.*) In one tale the children of *Lir* are said to have lived in the Isle of Man. *Gaiar* is taken by *Manannan* to *Emhain Abhlach* or *Emain* of the apple-trees, where he dies. The Welsh called *Elysium* the "island of apple-trees." The goddess *Becuma* driven

Himalayas. Similar wants gave rise to similar implements the world over, and after thousands of worked stones have passed through one's hands, the distinguishing of an accidentally chipped stone from an intentionally chipped one, and the identification of constantly re-occurring types of stone implements are no difficult matters. But the Poolvaish adzes are the only ones I have ever seen. Future research in the Isle of Man will undoubtedly add to their number, and the same may be said of the stones bearing, as I believe, rudely scratched drawings, which I found among the Neolithic remains at Poolvaish.

out of Tir Tairngire on account of her misconduct with Gaiar, son of Manannan, is sent adrift in a boat, and lands on the Hill of Howth, Ireland. She afterwards sends Art, the son of Con, in search of Delbh Caemh, whom he would find in an island in the middle of the sea. He sails away east and comes to a beautiful island full of apple-trees, birds, flowers, spotted horses and beautiful women. Birds are a constant feature of the Irish Elysian Isle.

The mountain-tops of the Isle of Man, dimly visible in fine weather from certain parts of the Irish coast, suggest how the Manx legend of Manannan originated, as they seem to emerge from a mantle of mist lying on the bosom of the sea. But though now called a Manx legend, its origin must have lain outside the Isle of Man, as it was the appearance of the isle, *as seen from afar*, that must have given rise to it. The tale shews that the isle was supposed by the early *Irish* to be enchanted. It suggests that the legend originated before communication between Ireland and Man had become easy. The occasional appearance of the isle in fine weather must have given rise to speculation and ~~fermentation~~ ^{superstitious} and superstitious people, whose rude boats were : ~~to~~ ^{to} brave the mysterious and real terrors of the intervening sea, even if the seeming enchantment which makes the isle visible at one time, and invisible at another, had not deterred them from making the attempt. The arrival of the sea-going Celts must have dispersed the seeming mystery, though the myth has remained.

THE EARLY NEOLITHIC CISTS AND REFUSE HEAP AT PORT ST. MARY.

FREDERICK SWINNERTON.

(Read November 5, 1889.)

This paper was written in May 1888, and submitted to Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, along with the contents of graves, in the following July. He kindly examined and noted the specimens, and in his reply says, among other things:—

I have examined the specimens, and made a few notes about them. The essay ought to be printed. The specimens should go towards the new Manx museum that is to be—probably in Castle Rushen. I knew the spot, close to the New Pier, in 1870, and I quite agree with you about the occupation preceding the interments. The people were probably not Eskimos, but pre-Aryan, non-Aryan, Neolithic probably the ancestors of the small, dark Manx in this district,

The following is the result of some investigations made by me from time to time, during the last two years,(1) at the tumulus and refuse heap at the Alfred Pier, Port St. Mary. My object in writing this is to offer a summary of what I have found.

(1) Six years really, as I began to search in 1882. (See Manx Note Book No. 2, 1885.)

The large cist (No. 1 pl.) when I first visited the place, had been entirely emptied of its contents, and one end removed. I heard that a skull from it had been in the possession of a workman for some days, and that he had at last thrown it away among the rubbish with which the breakwater was being filled up! The side stones and one end remaining, were large slabs of limestone three or four inches in thickness and about 3 ft. 6" in height. The square shape of the cist suggested that the body had been buried in a contracted position. The other graves were also too short to have allowed the bodies to have lain at full length. There were no traces of pottery within these graves.

The graves of this undoubted Neolithic tumulus have *not* been included in the list of pre-Christian burials in F. in Vol. II. "Journal of the Isle of Man Nat. Hist and"
1901.

It is, doubtless, well known that, besides the large kist, (pl. I.) part of which is still standing, there are the remains of several smaller ones on either side of it, but which, being all nearly destroyed, offer nothing for examination but their side slabs. To the N. E. of the largest kist I came across a horizontal slab of stone, which, though only a few inches below the sod, appears to have formed the cover of a grave. Four or five inches below this stone I found a number of flat schist slabs, which formed the grave floor. This floor in turn rested upon the band of yellow earth in which I have found so many flint cores and flakes (4 on plan) For the sake of brevity, I shall call this band of earth the "flint earth".

The debris which lay on the grave floor contained some fragmentary and crumbling human bones and teeth. These bones, however, were all so damaged by the subsidence of the grave, and by the action of time, as to make it difficult to extract any entire piece. Among the debris were a few rude flakes of no certain character, but at the N. E. end, where teeth occurred, I found the half of an arrow head of Neolithic type—the only implement, be it noted, of true Neolithic type which has hitherto been found in the mound. Judging from the weathered appearance of its broken side, it had been broken a long time.

The teeth seem to have belonged to an old individual, being worn down to mere stumps. Shells, which lay in great quantity among the bones, were principally of the common limpet, periwinkle, and others still common on the neighbouring shore. In most cases, these would not bear handling, and those which I succeeded in extracting entire showed no traces of having been perforated for use as ornaments. Immediately above the covering slab were more bones; these also too decayed to bear handling, with the exception of small portions of a skull and some more teeth which occurred at

the S. W. end of the grave *i. e.*, at the end opposite to where the other teeth were found. From this it would seem that there had been two interments in this small grave—one above the slab, and one beneath it. In the bottom grave there occurred the bones of a small animal, probably a hare.

Since writing the above, Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins has kindly examined the specimens, and from his notes I gather that there were *three* interments, *i. e.*, of an old adult, a young adult, and a child. Among the grave refuse he also identified one Neolithic arrow head (broken), one quartz scraper, several flints and flakes, shells of periwinkles, limpets, and dogwhelks, and a few bones of small animals. Also, among other human bones, shells, etc., which I got near the graves when I first began to search (*vide* 2 on plan), I have found a long piece of bone rudely fashioned and cut. It is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, by $\frac{3}{8}$ in breadth, and the point is broken.

So much for this partially destroyed grave. I wish to make a few observations on the relative positions of the graves and the "flint earth." I have attentively and repeatedly examined the connection between them, and, though I am conscious that it may be thought that the flints which occur are only such as are generally found scattered through the earth of tumuli, etc.; yet I have good reasons for concluding that in this case it is not so:—

1st—The nature and position of the "flint earth" must strike a careful examiner (No. 4, pl. I.). Near the graves it is a foot in thickness, and the flints, while they occur plentifully in it, are rarely found above, and never below it. This in itself is extremely curious, for if they had been indiscriminately thrown around the graves they would have been found so. For in the black earth above the "flint earth" there are plenty of stones and boulders which would have sunk

along with the flints, supposing that what I might call the stratification of the flints had been the work of earth worms. Otherwise we must assume that the worms were particularly anxious to bury the flints only.

2nd—In the making of the smaller kists the "flint earth" was not disturbed, their floors resting upon it, but when the large kist was constructed, the grave hole was dug through the "flint earth" to the gravel beneath. (See plan).

These two sets of facts seem to me to prove that the "flint earth" was as it is now prior to the construction of the graves.

Other facts point to the same conclusion. Towards the top of the "flint earth," and near a grave, I found a small fragment of coarse pottery surrounded by shells of the kind already mentioned. This, like most pottery found in ancient graves, etc., is full of small bits of quartz. It is blackened by the action of fire on its convex or outside part. From this it would seem to have been part of a cooking vessel. I found another fragment of pottery of similar make in the "flint earth," some seven feet from any of the graves.

The "flint earth" itself is of a red clayey nature. It dips towards the sea, and was probably the surface of the "brooghs" before the interments. Most of the flints found in it are but the refuse of the workshop, so to speak. But not all. Besides a large "skin scraper" of flint, and one of quartz, I have found four awls, many flake scrapers, many "used up" flakes, some curiously worked pointed implements—probably arrow heads—in fact, two or three dozen flints, all bearing evidence of having been used as implements, and a quantity of very minute implements of two distinct types. Some of the latter have evidently been used for scraping round articles "such as an arrow shaft," as Prof.

W. Boyd Dawkins suggests—being worn into a semicircular hollow at the base. The sketch (P. 2. A.) shows their general character, the end being worn out by scraping. These are mostly very small.

The other sort of minute implements range in size from half an inch to an inch. They are almost all alike but if it had not been for their constant occurrence at different places in the "flint earth," I should never have taken them to be implements. But when one finds about 50 flints all bearing a certain definite form scattered throughout a layer of earth 70 feet in length, one is forced to the conclusion that they were used for some special purpose. Their shape is invariably a long triangle, one side being worn away by scraping, while the other side preserves, in most cases, its natural sharp edge. At the base they are worn hollow, but in such a fashion that one side of the hollow forms a kind of tang. I have never seen any implements like them elsewhere. (B. plate-2.). (2)

Many of these "used up" flakes are mere stumps, the end being worn away at a more or less obtuse angle to the sides by scraping. My conclusions are—

1st—That the "flint earth" was at one time the natural surface of the ground, and that the spot was used as a convenient camping ground by Neolithic savages, who made their flint implements from the natural nodules of flint gathered, perhaps, from the neighbouring shores. That shell-fish, such as are found on our coasts, formed part of their repasts, and that crabs were also eaten (I found portion of a crab nipper in the "flint earth"), and also wild rabbits

(2) Quite recently while looking over some implements which I found at Chunar, N. W. P. India. I found one entire and several broken implements of this type among them. They are probably scrapers intended for finishing very small articles.

and hares—(two teeth in "flint earth"). That they knew the use of pottery, used bows and arrows, and had weapons tipped with flint and bone. They probably caught fish, and resembled some of the coast tribes of Terra del Fuego, described in the voyages of Captain Cook.

2nd—That, after having been some time inhabited, the spot was converted into a burying ground, perhaps by the same family who had encamped there. Allowing these old flint chippers to have been akin in habits to the modern Eskimos, there is nothing improbable in this idea, as we know the Eskimos, like other savage tribes, convert the dwelling-house into a tomb when the occupant dies. These savages would make a stone coffin, and heap the earth in a mound above it. Probably the large kist was the first constructed. Once the tumulus was raised upon the spot, it would doubtless become "taboo".

This find is especially fortunate in one respect, *viz.*, that as the ground has never been under cultivation, the flints are all as sharp as when first chipped. Flints found in ploughed fields are not always reliable, as the chipping on them may have been caused by horses, ploughs, etc., and, doubtless, a great many flake "scrapers" owe their abrasions to these causes.

P. S.—When I first visited the spot, a slab was pointed out to me by one of the workmen as portion of the cover of the large grave. It had shallow holes worked in it. Unfortunately it has got mislaid.

PRE-ARYAN REMAINS AT GLEN WYLLIN,
ISLE OF MAN.

Read Jan. 1891.

F. SWYNNERTON.

In August, 1889, a short time before I left the Isle of Man, the Rev. J. Quine, M.A., Principal of the Douglas Grammar School, in accordance with a promise made some time before, asked me to visit a "find" of flints he had made at Glen Wyllin where on former occasions he had picked up several flakes and cores. Arriving at the spot, I observed that the flints (which abounded in considerable numbers) were scattered over a hill overlooking Glen Wyllin and the country around. It was quite apparent that, as the flints lay on the surface of a field which had been under cultivation, they must have been turned up out of their original bed by the action of the plough, and were, therefore, quite useless as evidence, seeing that the implements (which in the Isle of Man are generally of small size) were necessarily broken or destroyed, and that the larger flints, such as cores, &c., being chipped and damaged from the same cause, were quite worthless. I dug some holes to determine if a "flint-earth" might haply remain, but found none. However, noticing on the other side of the hedge which bounded the field on the south, a stretch of waste land, which, judging by its appearance and the number of clumps of gorse scattered over its surface, had never been under cultivation, I dug in it some small trenches here and there at a distance of about seven feet from the hedge, and found, as I expected, a portion of the original "flint-earth" or "floor" undisturbed. Calling Mr. Quine's

attention to the matter, I set to work with him, and in a short time we unearthed hundreds of flints, comprising cores, flakes, etc., and, as I afterwards found, many implements of various types. At the spot examined much of the sod had been removed to cover the adjoining hedge, but we ascertained that the "flint-earth" (No. 2, pl. 2) lay from one foot to eighteen inches beneath the modern level of the ground. Beneath the "flint-earth" (No. 3, pl. 2) lay a thin stratum of mould—perhaps about six inches in thickness—and beneath that came sand passing downwards into gravel. Most probably this was part of the ancient surface of the hill, when the flints were chipped by prehistoric people. The layer of soil above the "flint-earth" is partly due to the accumulation of centuries of decayed vegetable matter, and in part, perhaps, to the action of earth-worms. On a subsequent visit I found that in one place a "fire-hole" had been dug through the former surface of the soil into the sand beneath (pl. 2, No. 5); therefore the lower layer of earth must have at that time been of about its present thickness.(2)

The fire-hole I have mentioned I found to be about three feet in diameter from rim to rim, the sides sloping gradually to the centre, which was about one foot in depth—measuring from the top of the "flint earth." It was full of burnt matter—charred twigs, &c., and scattered through it were many flints, some burnt. I found no signs of animal remains. Most likely the hole had been made for a camp fire, around which these scantily clad, or naked, savages sat, and near which, warmed by its comforting blaze, they flaked their flints, and fabricated their rude implements for war or

(2). The credit for this "find" is Mr. Quine's. There is no doubt that here was an undisturbed Neolithic Floor, which, all things considered, merited as thorough an examination as do the antiquities of Greece or Rome. It should have been done by a Committee of the local Society. But if the Society is not willing or able to do such work itself, it should encourage private persons to do it. F. S. 1909.

for the chase.(3) On subsequent visits alone, and once when accompanied by my brother, I dug out several thousands of flints, and, when I came to classify them, found among them several hundred implements, many, like old friends, of familiar form. Unlike those from the ancient encampment and tumulus at Port St. Mary, they were not weathered white, but displayed their natural colours, glossy with the unmistakable polish of age. Several were white, but the minute cracks which covered them, and the absence of polish in these cases, showed the whiteness to be due to the action of fire. The implements, which in general character resemble those from my "find" at Port St. Mary, comprise ordinary flake "scrapers," "skin-scrapers," "used-up flakes," "awls," or "borers," "hollow scrapers," and many small, carefully worked pointed implements, which, while hardly strong enough for borers, might have served admirably for arrow tips.

Besides these, I was fortunate enough to find several "hammer-stones," or common round stones, which had evidently been used to break off the flakes from the nuclei. The types of the implements being so like those found at Port St. Mary, we may conclude that they belong to the same period. Such

(3) This was the first recorded Neolithic fire-place in the Isle of Man. In a paper by Mr. George Clinch, F.R.S. "The Neolithic Fire-place at West Wickham Common, Kent," Vol. II. N. S. 1899, is given a section of a fire-hole at West Wickham Common, Kent, which almost exactly corresponds with a drawing I had made of the one at Glen Wyllin. Mr. Clinch describes the probable process of making a cooking place, etc., as follows.—"A hole was first dug in the ground from 1-25, m. to 3, m. across, and about 75 c. m. deep. Across this a number of dry oak branches were laid, and fire was applied. Into this fire was placed the animal or joint to be cooked, or if water was to be heated or a stew prepared a number of fair sized pebbles, placed among the burning embers, were heated and used as pot-boilers in receptacles made of wood or other combustible substances, for it is pretty clear that no pottery was in use." The method of cooking is based on the methods still in use in the Neolithic period. The Neolithic people at Port St. Mary undoubtedly had pottery, and as the marks of burning on the convex side of the fragments found among the refuse of their camp-floor shew, they used vessels of rude pottery for cooking.

differences as occur are, however, worthy of notice. At Port St. Mary, and at Glen Wyllin, the small hollow scrapers, which are invaluable as affording evidence that these early people used bows and arrows, occur in about equal numbers. But the two sets differ in form. The hollow in the Port St. Mary scrapers is invariably at the *end* of the flake (see A, pl. 2), while in the Glen Wyllin examples it occurs on the *side* of the flake, near the end (see c, pl. 2), and consequently the latter implements were easily broken. The occurrence of many curiously shaped flints (D, pl. 2 *without* the dotted line) was puzzling, until I found they were these broken "hollow scrapers". At first sight they might pass for "awls," but the clean unworn fracture at the part marked x. (c and D, pl. 2), precludes this supposition. Among others, was a *double* hollow scraper, broken. (pl. 2, E). The "hammer-stones" bearing the white bruised marks of repeated concussions, are rounded water-worn stones, picked up, perhaps, from the neighbouring glen. In the modern manufacture of gun-flints, round-faced hammers are always used. In the field I found one remarkably fine. "awl." The hill, whereon this ancient camp is situated, would have been admirably adapted for the abode of a tribe or family, which, in those days, might have had to guard against a sudden raid from neighbouring savages. It is very steep on the north and west, and the east and south sides are similarly formed, while, as it overlooks a large extent of country, any attack would be easily seen. It is curious that although nearer to Ramsey than to Port St. Mary, and separated from the latter place by the whole range of Manx mountains, almost, not a single flint of the peculiar type found in such number by Mr. Kermode at Ramsey, has been discovered; while on the other hand, all the flints resemble more or less those from Port St. Mary. Does this fact indicate a difference in race or period? The negative evidence of the absence of implements of true Neolithic type, both at Glen Wyllin and Port St. Mary, is also very curious.

Assuming both "finds" belong to the same period and race, we have, by this discovery, an extended knowledge of these ancient people. From the Port St. Mary "find" we gathered :—

1st—That they were acquainted with the use of rude pottery.

2nd—That they buried their dead *unburnt* in stone graves.

3rd—That some families lived by the sea shore, and used shell-fish for food, apparently as their principal article of diet.

4th—While their flint instruments were of the rudest character, they also used bone and quartz.

5th—That along with their dead they put into the graves quantities of shell-fish, and some flints,—probably as a provision for the departed in the spirit world. This little fact leads us to conclude that this primitive race had some idea of man's immortality.

We further gather from the Glen Wyllin "find":—

6th—That some families lived on hills probably for protection against neighbouring tribes and families.

7th—That they dug holes in the ground in which to make their fires.

8th—That they used instruments of basalt (one flake of basalt was found).

And from the evidence of both finds :—

9th—That they probably knew the use of bows and arrows.

Taking into consideration that up to the Port St. Mary "find" nothing whatever was known of the ordinary life of these ancient inhabitants of the island, the above particulars are of great interest, and, I think prove, that it only needs scrupulous care in examining "finds," a proper classification of objects found, and a little common sense, to enable us to form, from the hardly commenced study of the most ancient pre-historic remains in the island, a museum *full* of most interesting evidence regarding the very earliest races which have inhabited the land now called Man.

RHIANNON AND DYVED.

In the Mabinogion Rhiannon describes herself to Pwyll as the daughter of Heveydd Hên, who is not mentioned in connection with Annwn. When Manawyddan accepts the advice of Pryderi (Care, Anxiety), son of Pwyll (Prudence), to marry Rhiannon, he goes to Dyved, where she rules as the widow of Pwyll. According to the tale of Pwyll in its present form, Pwyll, though called Chief of Annwn, was Prince of Dyved. Seeing that so many of the characters of the Mabinogion proper, *i. e.* the tales of Pwyll, Branwen, Manawyddan, and Math, are thinly disguised Irish gods, and that the tales themselves were probably introduced into Wales during the Irish occupation of parts of Wales in the early centuries of our era when the old religion was a living one, it has been inferred that during subsequent centuries, the real origin of the tales being forgotten, and the old religion extinct, the scenes of the tales, with a few exceptions, came to be laid in Wales. A perusal of the Mabinogion shews this pretty clearly. Such statements as that Pryderi held certain Cantraves in Dyved, like the mention of Cordovan leather, etc. cannot belong to the original tales, and Dyved must also be a late introduction. The explanation given of Pwyll being both Prince of Dyved, and Chief of Annwn, or Annwvyn, is worth quoting, as it betrays the hand of the Welsh bard at a loss to reconcile fact with fiction, the known with the unknown. "And by reason of his having dwelt that year in Annwvyn, and having ruled there so prosperously, and united the two kingdoms in one day by his valour and prowess, he lost the name of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved, and was called Chief of Annwvyn from that time forward." (Lady Charlotte Guest's "Mabinogion").

Here we have the name of a part of ancient Wales given as the older title to a prehistoric, mythical character,

and a name, whose origin is undoubtedly prehistoric, given as the later title. The bard did not realize that he was dealing with such an ancient tale, or was patriotically desirous of preserving Pwyll as a Welsh character. Clearly of the two, Chief of Annwn, or Annwvyn, was Pwyll's original title. And so throughout these pre-historic tales of the Mabinogion, while the names of the personages are often prehistoric Irish, the place names are frequently historical Welsh.

Dyved is called by the bard Davydd ap Gwilym, the Land of Enchantment, probably on account of the enchantments described in the tale of Manawyddan ap Llyr, as having been caused in *Dyved*, by Llwyd, son of Kilcoed. The enchantment episodes evidently belong to the original tale, though we must look elsewhere, than in Wales, for the scene of them, for the reasons already stated. If Pwyll is the Welshified Irish Píall, then as Píall is said in Irish legend to have been king of Man, it would seem to follow that not Dyved in Wales, but the Isle of Man, was the original *Land of Enchantment*.

If "Chief of Annwn" is the proper title of Pwyll, and if Pwyll is Píall, king of Man, then the Isle of Man may have been Annwn,—*Annan, the prehistoric Irish name*.

Hence Manannan would be "Man Annan" like Pwyll's title "Pen Annwn," and would simply mean "Lord of Annan."

On the same grounds Rhiannon would have been the wife of two mythical kings of Man, Píall and Manannan, and the relation of her name to the "annan" in Manannan, and of both "Rhiannon" and "Manannan" to Annwn would be explained.

As Pwyll was connected with Annwn, so also would Píall be connected with Tir Tairngíre, for if Annwn corresponds to Tir Tairngíre, and if Annwn is the Isle of Man, then Tir Tairngíre would be the Isle of Man.

If Pwyll is Píall, the Mabinogion tales, in so far as they refer to the doings of prehistoric characters in Dyved in Wales, may have originally referred to the doings of Píall, Manannan, etc. in the Isle of Man.

If this is possible then three tales of the Mabinogion proper may be Irish prehistoric legends principally concerning the Isle of Man.

But besides Pwyll, Chief of Annwn, there were two kings of Annwn,—Arawn and Havgan. It is impossible of course to place any reliance on these tales as regards contemporariness of characters, as most of them are, probably, mere personifications of things, or of qualities.

From the tale of Pwyll we gather that Annwn was divided into two parts by "the Ford," Arawn ruling over one, Havgan over the other, and at "the Ford" Havgan was killed by Pwyll, when on the point of invading Arawn's territory. Perhaps geologists may be able to tell us if there are any indications to shew that at such a recent period as to correspond to what we call prehistoric times the Isle of Man was divided into two parts by lying lower in the sea; some old raised beaches and sea-caves appear to shew that it has risen, and Port-e-Shee might suggest that the sea came up farther in that direction than now.

The tale of Math seems to contain a reference to the first introduction of domestic swine, as opposed to wild hogs, into Dyved,—if I am correct in my surmises, into the Isle of Man.

The Welsh *may* have got the tales direct from the *Manx*, during their domination in the 6th century.

FINDS IN RUSHEN :

PRE-HISTORIC REMAINS.

Read February 27th 1909.

FRED. SWYNNERTON,

Fellow Ant. Ins. of Great Britain. and Ireland.

The following is an attempt to bring together the results of a few discoveries in the parish of Rushen, bearing on pre-historic man. As I have found some difficulty in obtaining information of all finds made by others in this parish, I hope it will not be considered egotistical if what I have to write about mostly concerns what I have observed or discovered myself.

So far, no well-authenticated remains of palæolithic times appear to have been found in this parish, nor anywhere else in the Island. It is true that in a paper on "The Primitive Period," read before the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society in 1880, by Mr. Grindley, great geological changes are inferred to have taken place since this island has been inhabited by man, on the strength of "the foundations of a primitive hut," containing "rude wood-cutting tools," having been found by Mr. Cumming among the remains of trees on the sea-shore below Mount Gawne, in Bay-ny-Carrickey. The subject is so important that it deserves careful consideration. (1)

Remains of huts beneath rock-shelters of the later palæolithic period, belonging to what the French call "The Reindeer Period," have, I believe been found in Perigord, in France, but it is doubtful if any rude wood-cutting

(1) See Appendix. A.

tools, as such, of this period have been discovered. And as Mr. Grindley inferred from the presence of these tools on the sea shore, Bay-ny-Carricky, that since they were left there, a plain connecting the Isle of Man and Ireland has become the Irish Sea, and has again partially re-emerged at this point, we are justified in doubting if vestiges of any primitive hut would have lasted against the influences at work during such vast changes. Indeed the mention of the foundations of a primitive hut seems to show that these relics must have belonged to much later times, when land and sea were practically as they are at present. Enquiries made by me, as well as some recent discoveries of worked flints, seem to point to the same conclusion, though the possibility of their being palæolithic is by no means done away with.

I exhibit two pieces of a tree, found by my father, sticking out of the shore below high water mark at Strandhall. The piece, when entire, struck him as being part of a branch of a tree, and it came out of the gravel quite easily. It could not have been rooted in the boulder clay, which is very tenacious, and which underlies the sand and gravel on this shore.

I exhibit also a number of nuts which were dug out of a quantity of peat, lying in a depression of the boulder clay, just above low water mark, half way between Mount Gawne and the Smelt Mill; in fact, about where Cumming found his rude wood-cutting tools, and part of a tree shewing the marks of an axe. The nuts were dug out of the peat by two sons of Mr. Lace, of Port St. Mary—then living at Mount Gawne—and Mr. Lace saw them being dug out of the peat. Mr. Lace is of the opinion that the peat “lies in patches in hollows in the clay, and that it lies on the clay and not beneath it.” Moreover, the colour of the wood, and

its condition when first found, as well as that of the nuts, proclaim them to be peat relics. Of course the peat and its contents are thousands of years more recent than the clay beneath it.

Mr. Lace also informs me that peat is found below Poolvaish, and that the horns of a deer, found some years ago in that neighbourhood, came out of a bed of peat.

Between Mount Gawne and Kentraugh there is a field which is simply a peat bog. Various attempts have been made to drain it, but it still remains boggy in parts. The field lies in the depression between Kentraugh and Mount Gawne, and is most probably a remaining portion of a peat bog, which as we have seen, has left patches on the shore. It seems probable, therefore, that in recent years, geologically speaking, an extensive peat bog occupied part of the space stretching from below the Smelt Mills to Poolvaish, and occupying all that area which is now the shore, down to low-water mark. (2) This may have extended for a considerable distance seawards in Neolithic times, and may have been, since then, entirely washed away by the sea, excepting those patches which have been protected by lying in the hollows of the boulder clay.

Moreover, good evidence of the recent encroachment of the sea below Mount Gawne is not wanting. People remember, where there is now a steep beach, a green sward, extended twenty feet or more seaward; and only recently part of the Castletown Road itself was destroyed in a storm. It is quite possible this green sward may have contained stone implements, which might have been washed out in a storm, and have afterwards been found among the ancient trees laid bare by the same influence. And it is worthy of note that quite close to Mount Gawne worked

(2) Cumming's "remains of trees" support this view.

flints are to be found, as I will presently show. Allowing that there was a morass in ancient times, pile dwellings, similar to those found in the Swiss lakes, *may* have been built over it, and the trunk of a tree, with axe marks upon it, found by Mr. Cumming, may have been a pile, or perhaps the centre-pole of a hut.

But it is not impossible, indeed very probable, that the rude tools may have been washed out of the peat itself. The peat bogs of Denmark are veritable nests of ancient stone implements of immense antiquity, and also contain numerous remains of animals. The antlers of a deer found at Strandhall came, as I have mentioned, out of this Bay-ny-Carrickey peat bog, as may the rude stone implements found by Cumming.

I exhibit a large broken flint picked up by myself among the gravel at low water below the Shore Hotel, Bay ny Carrickey. It might be regarded by enthusiasts as an implement, but as large nodules of flint are found in the boulder clay, and very easily split into fragments before their internal moisture has evaporated—a fact known to gun-flint chippers—it is more probable that it has been broken by natural causes. This subject is worth more attention than it has received since the days of Cumming, but for the present we must take palæolithic man in Rushen as not proved.

In relics of Neolithic times the parish abounds. There are examples of all the various remains known as Neolithic that are found in Europe, as well as others strongly resembling the Danish Kjekkenmoddings. But though this is the case, it is a pity that, with the exception of the Meayll Hill remains, little has been done to prove to what particular periods these remains belong. Under the name Neolithic, we find, as elsewhere, various remains classed, which perhaps

belong to periods separated by considerable lapses of time, and, very probably, by the long transition from utter savagery to semi-civilization. The want of a searching classification of what has been discovered in the Island is a pressing one, as is that of an archæological map of the Isle of Man—both works worthy the attention, and within the scope of the Society.

There appear, however, to be distinct traces of early and late Neolithic character in this parish. I have not come across any urns or other relics of the Bronze Age in Rushen, but such have been found, as, for example, a flint arrow-head, associated with a burial urn at Glen Chass, on the S. E. side of the Mull Hill. This was discovered many years ago. A bronze axe was found at Surby in Rushen, but where it has gone to I cannot find out, though I believe some one in Castle-town has it. The arrow heads found in the sepulchral circle on the Mull Hill are, it appears, of late Neolithic or Bronze Age; of the latter, judging by the urns containing ashes found in the kists.

As regards the Mull Hill circle, it appears to be a most singular thing that most of the broken urns and flint flakes were found beneath the slabs apparently forming the floors of the graves. It appears to me to be most singular that those people, after taking the trouble to put floor slabs in the kists on the Mull Hill, should have neglected to put the customary covering slabs. If we suppose that the urns were laid on the ground, and the covering slabs were put over them, and the earth heaped on the slabs, it would naturally happen that, when the urns become too decayed to stand the weight, they would collapse, and be crushed by the covering slabs, which might lie practically on the ground. I am strongly of opinion that what were taken to be the floor slabs were really the covering slabs, but in any case, the

urn interments apparently belonged to the Bronze or late Neolithic period.* (3) To this period some of the hut circles appear to belong, as is proved by Mr. Kermodé's researches, and a discovery of my own.

It appears very probable that if excavations were to be made outside hut-circles, where house refuse would have naturally been thrown, and would have accumulated from year to year, more evidence might be found than in digging in their interiors. Even Neolithic man would probably not have cared to sit or sleep on sharp fragments of pottery or flint.

On a piece of waste land, on the northern end of Bradda Head, immediately overlooking Fleshwick Bay, are the remains of two enclosures which, apparently, were built in the same way as those on the Mull Hill. Some of the stones forming these enclosures are rather large, but the stones, generally speaking, are now very scattered. Enough remains, however, to show that the smaller enclosure was of circular form, and measured seventeen paces in diameter. It had an entrance at one side, flanked by heaps of stones or by huts. North of this enclosure is another much larger one, also circular, which joins on to the other; and, outside this again, to the north, is a round shallow depression in the sward, probably marking the site of a "weem" or primitive dug-out hut. The greater part of the stones of these enclosures have probably been carried away to help to build the modern boundary wall close by.

Here, then, we appear to have indications of two primitive cattle pens and of the owner's hut, perhaps belong-

* The small flat stones were certainly the floor pavement, being even partly under the large side slabs. There must originally have been lintel coverings, but these had doubtless been removed for fence building, &c. See Vol. II., p. 117.—Ed.

(3) See Appendix, B.

ing to the same period as the Mull Hill remains. On the ridge called the Carnanes there are several other hut circles; and out of the earthen wall of one of these I picked a quartz-arrow head with its point broken. A later discovery shows that quartz was almost as commonly used as flint in early times in this part of the Island. This arrow head seems to show that the hut circles on the Carnanes also belong to the same period as those on the Mull Hill—late Neolithic or Bronze Age—but, on the other hand, some of these hut circles may belong to well within historic times, as may, possibly, the use of stone arrow heads.

Train—apparently quoting the “Chronicles of Man”—says that “when Magnus Barefoot arrived in Man, the island presented a most appalling spectacle. The whole island was a desert, well nigh depopulated by war and famine. So wretched was the condition of the inhabitants that even *he* regarded them with commiseration, and caused them to build houses, of which they were nearly destitute; for, like the Firbolgs so famous in Irish Chronicles, they lived in small huts or cells under the ground, chiefly in the mountains.”

If the latter part is not Train's own, we seem here to have evidence of an historical character, that so late as 1098 these small dug out “weems” were generally used. It seems to show that the people had not learned to build stone houses, for it is hardly likely that such an art would have been absolutely neglected if it had ever been in general practice.

There would be nothing surprising in this, or indeed in these huts continuing to be used to a much later period, as similar huts have been in use in Scotland down to the nineteenth century. Moreover, certain parts of Ireland and Wales appear to have been inhabited by a small race of wild redheaded people who lived in subterranean dens—called

"Picts huts." In an article on "Modern Views of the Picts," in the January number of the *Monthly Review* 1901, there is a most interesting reference to these people, who, in Wales, were called 'the red fairies,' on account of the fiery red colour of their hair, and their fleetness and agility. They lived in underground dens, and appear to have used stone weapons. They were great thieves, and in Merionethshire were exterminated by Lewis Owen, the Vice-Chamberlain of North Wales, on Christmas Eve, 1554.

In view of the strong popular belief in red-capped fairies in the Isle of Man these facts are interesting, as it is not impossible that it owes its origin to similar people living in the mountainous parts of the Island in early times. (4)

A description of Manx cabins at the beginning of the eighteenth century, given by Quayle, quoted by Train, shows that the generality of the houses at that period were of the rudest description. They were small, and made of sods, thatched with straw—though the introduction of thatching seems to have been late. The floor was of hardened mud; the chimney—where there was one—a funnel of sailcloth covered with a coating of lime—though sometimes the smoke found its way out as best it could. The fire burnt on a stone on the hearth, very often without range or chimney, and cattle were kept in an extension of the dwelling-house. If such was the case at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it seems most probable that in the time of Magnus Barefoot it was much worse; and it may be that, in some of these hut circles, we have the remains of dwelling-houses of that period. It is at least significant that, near to Crégneish, until lately the most primitive village in the island, these hut circles are numerous. I think it is a moot question if some

of the wild mountain folk in the 11th century did not use stone implements. (5)

Small undiscoloured flakes are found on the surface of the great mound called Cronk Moar, which seems to be a great sepulchral mound, converted into a small fort by the formation of a moat at its base, and a hollow on the top. The great fort at Castle Ward, near Douglas, has a similar hollow on top. Besides these remains, we have the Giants Quoiting Stones and the two large stones at Ballakilpheric. To judge by the worked flints found close to them, they belong to the Stone Age. The two at Ballakilpheric stand in a field a little distance from the village of Ballakilpheric, and on account of the positions they occupy relative to each other, suggest that they are the remains of some large structure, each as an alignment or a chamber. I am informed by Mr. Lace that people now living remember other stones besides these two standing in this field.

There have been found numerous flakes, chips, and cores in this field as well as implements, and in the next field to the S. E., and I submit they mark the site of a Neolithic village. I am aware that worked flints found in close proximity to such monuments have been regarded as offerings, or as provision for the departed in the spirit world, &c.; but if we suppose that it was the custom, sometimes, as among the Ho's of Bengal, to raise mounds or megalithic monuments near the village, we should have an explanation of the presence of such numbers of worked flints near these pre-historic monuments.

We need not go out of Rushen to prove that kists were sometimes made on the camp floor itself during the Stone Age. It will, perhaps, be remembered that in the case at the Alfred Pier, Port St. Mary, it was shown that a large kist,

made of rough, unhewn slabs of limestone, had been constructed on the ancient flake covered surface of the ground, and that over it had been piled a small mound. The remains of shell-fish, and other animal refuse, traces of pottery, as well as the large quantity of worked flints, including cast-away implements, clearly showed that occupation of the spot had preceded the original interment. Secondary interments had been made in the mound, all much smaller than the original one, and all contained quantities of sea shells; and, among other things, were gathered from them, a rude bone implement with the point broken off; a Neolithic arrow-head of similar manufacture to those found in the Mull Hills circle, and a scraper of quartz.

It is well known that mounds of the Stone Age often contain interments belonging to subsequent periods. It is quite possible that the grave containing the arrow-head belonged to a much later date than the original interment, more especially as no arrow-heads of that character were found amongst the flints on the camp-floor. But all these graves contained unburnt bones, and, judging by the length and height of the original grave, the corpse must have been buried in a contracted position.

To the S. W. of the Alfred Pier tumulus was a field in which I found numerous flakes and cores, marking, perhaps, the site of another prehistoric encampment, or an extension of the first. At the east end of this field, near the shore, some labourers engaged in making new roads connected with the improvement of Port St. Mary, found, some eight years ago, just such another grave as the secondary interments at the Alfred Pier. It contained unburnt bones, but the only thing saved was a skull, broken by a pick of one of the labourers. The cranium is nearly perfect, but the facial bones have perished. It has been pronounced

by Professor Boyd Dawkins to be of an aged woman, and to be a broad skull of ordinary Goidelic, *i.e.*, early Celtic type. The condition of the skull shows it to be very ancient. (5A)

It is most unfortunate that no intelligent person was near when this grave was found, to see if it contained any stone implements. I have been to the spot, and near to where the grave was found, I picked up a couple of small flakes, and a roughly-made drill. These, of course, may have no connection with the grave; but taking into consideration all the circumstances, the quantity of worked flints, marking an old encampment in the vicinity, the tumulus a little distance away containing graves of similar make, and bones in about the same stage of decay, it is hard to resist the conviction that we have here the skull of a person who lived in neolithic or early Bronze Age. It yet remains to be proved that the early Celts in this Island were not in their Stone Age.

ANOTHER ANCIENT CAMP.

During the last few months I have had the opportunity of examining the site of another ancient camp—one I knew of before, but had no opportunity of investigating. As it appears to be the site of a pre-historic settlement of considerable size, to have probably been fortified, and, judging by the character of some spear and arrow heads I have found there, to have belonged to a rude and warlike people, a description of the natural features of the place will be of interest, as they may shortly disappear beneath the ranges of lodging-houses planned to be built on the spot. The rough map will show the natural outline of the field, called Rhenwyllin the Mill Ridge perhaps from the Snelk Mill close by. It is on high ground at the south end of the bay

(5A) This skull, which Prof. Boyd Dawkins kindly examined for me, is now in the Manx Museum.

Carrickey, not very far from where Dr. Cumming found the foundations of a primitive hut on the shore. The field is bounded on the north by the Castletown Road, which, running east and west at this point, passes through a gap in the ridge, and then turns north. This gap is a natural feature, formed by a small stream, which still finds its way to the shore through it, and which originally must have run down a little glen—the bottom of the glen being thirty or forty feet below Rhenwyllin ridge, which overlooks it.

RHENWYLLIN AND ITS RELICS.

Facing the sea, the ridge rises abruptly not less than 50 feet above the shore at one point, and is so steep as to suggest that it must have been scarped in prehistoric times. The ridge runs along the east and south sides of the field, becoming lower towards the south. To the west the field slopes down to a small stream, now carried in an artificial channel, partly underground. This stream enters Rhenwyllin from the north, runs south for some distance, and then turning east, along where it must have run originally, discharges into the sea about 300 feet from the south end of the field. About half-way between this stream and the Castletown Road is the highest part of Rhenwyllin, formed by a ridge, probably of an artificial character, running east and west, backwards from the front ridge. From this ridge the field has a gradual slope to the south, as far as the small stream—rising again beyond it, to where it overlooks Chapel Bay. At the north-west side of the field there is a low hump which may possibly be the remains of an earthwork to protect the weakest point lying between the two streams. Altogether the place seems to have been selected on account of its natural strong position, and it may have been fortified by escarpments and mounds, but the plough has so levelled up and levelled down the artificial features that it requires

a practiced eye to detect them. On all the higher parts of Rhenwyllin worked stones are found in considerable numbers. In many places the soil, when freshly turned up by the plough, has a dirty or refusy look. It is precisely in such places that implements are most numerous. At these spots decayed sea shells, very decayed fragments of bones, nodules of stone, many broken by being used as hammers, and some burnt stones were found, as well as flakes and cores of flint and quartz, implements of quartz, flint, and slate, and the arrow-heads. It is easy to see that the quartz used were round nodules from the shore, and I have found a few bits of rock of crystal.

The flakes and chips of flint are in many cases very massive for the Isle of Man, one flake measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ in length. But it is rather singular that for implements such as drills or hollow scrapers, quartz or slate was more commonly used than flint. Arrow and spear heads of quartz were also found. Quartz implements occurred also at the Alfred Pier but, at the time, I paid no attention to them, as flints were so numerous. At the north end of Rhenwyllin, undiscoloured flakes are more numerous; red dots on the map will show where the flint and quartz refuse was mostly found, the black crosses mark where new-looking flints were gathered.

What we can gather from the evidence as a whole, perhaps, indicates a long occupation of the spot. The numerous quartz and slate implements, though a new feature in Manx archæology, have not, perhaps, been found elsewhere, simply because they were not looked for. It seems clear that any suitable stone was used. If we take the spear heads as finished, they would indicate a low perception of symmetry on the part of their makers. Some of the hollow scrapers were probably intended for rounding spear or javelin shafts, judging by the size of the worn hollows.

If any hut circles were ever in this field, they have now disappeared. But I believe, so far, extensive flint "finds" have not been made associated with hut circles in Rushen, and, at Glen Willyn, in Michael, where an undisturbed camp floor was found at a spot indicated by the Rev. J. Quine, and where were also found holes containing burnt matter, which these people had used for cooking their food, no trace of hut circles were visible, such as would easily have been detected if they had been there. As regards Rhenwyllin, it is certain that if search were made every year immediately after ploughing, remains would be found showing a long occupation—and more implements than are sufficient to stock all the cases in Castle Rushen, and many more. The ridge I have described as forming the front of Rhenwyllin extends to the north of the Castletown Road as far as Mount Gawne, where it sinks to a lower level in the boggy field I have mentioned.

On the ridge near Mount Gawne, and in a ploughed field behind it, I have found some cores of flint, and flakes, as well as one implement—a sort of hollow chisel, fellow to one I found at Rhenwyllin. Behind Mount Gawne is an elevation called Cronk Crane, (6) where ancient graves have been unearthed. West of Rhenwyllin, in the next field, a bluff rises rather abruptly. It faces east, and overlooks Rhenwyllin. A few worked flakes have been found on the face of this bluff. Search after ploughing would probably result in a find of numerous worked flints. N. W. of this hillock, a short distance away, stands one of the Giant's Quoiting Stones, and further away to the S. W. of this, stands the other monolith on the slope of Cronk Skibbylt. Near the former stone I have found a few flakes and a small core.

It is quite clear that the coast in this part of the island, all along the bluffs from Perwick Bay to Mount Gawne, was

(6) "Cronk Crane" means, I believe, "Bone Hill." It seems probable that it was a neolithic tumulus,—now nearly demolished.

almost one continuous line of settlements in prehistoric times. It will not be extravagant to attribute to them the Giants' Quoiting Stones, etc.; but, in any case, there is plenty to be done in the places I have indicated. (6A)

As regards what the implements tell us:—The rocks used were flint, quartz, basalt, porphyry, and slate; in fact, any suitable stone, as well as bone. The number of quartz implements found so close to the shore, where flints are most numerous, indicate that farther inland we might expect to meet with greater quantities of quartz refuse than of flint refuse. It is a remarkable thing that, though I have hunted the Mull Hills well, I have not succeeded in finding a single flake of flint. On the other hand, the quantity of quartz fragments is remarkable, and I am convinced some of them have been intentionally chipped.

It is also to be noticed that Mr. Kermode and Dr. Herdman found numerous nodules of quartz in the kists of the circle on the Mull Hills, as well as in some of the huts. I suggest that these may have been placed there to serve as cores for the departed to strike flakes from in the spirit world. Their presence was evidently—as Mr. Kermode points out—part of the funeral rites, and I think the fact that worked quartz nodules, quartz flakes, as well as implements of that stone occur at Rhenwyllin, is strong evidence that they were placed in the graves for that purpose.

If we suppose, as seems probable, that in early times there were numerous villages, strongly fortified, and probably in a continual state of warfare, it might have been difficult for tribes or families living on the Mull Hills to avail themselves of the numerous flints found on the east beaches. The

(6A) There were settlements from Perwick Bay to Poolvaish,—this is certain.

villages living near the shore may have objected to inland people carrying off flints lying within their territory.

Consequently the Mull Hill villagers would be largely restricted to the beaches lying within their territory, and it will be noted that these beaches, such as at Fleshwick Bay, or the Sound, though they have any amount of quartz nodules, have very few flints.

It appears to me that the round quartz nodules found in the graves on the Mull Hill were put there to serve as cores for the departed to strike flakes from in the happy hunting grounds. Similar quartz nodules were found along with quantities of sea shells in the Alfred Pier graves. Moreover, the superstition among modern fishermen regarding the "White Stone" being unlucky in their boats, if rightly considered, may be accepted as evidence that quartz nodules were put into graves for use in the spirit world. (7) Thus—

1st—Quartz nodules were commonly used to strike flakes from, and to make implements from.

2nd—Such nodules were put into graves for the use of the departed in the spirit world.

3rd—Probably long after the use of stone weapons had ceased, this custom held its ground.

4th—The dropping of white stones into graves would have associated corpses with white stones in people's minds.

(7) I owe to Mr. Kermode and Dr. Herdman the suggestion that the "clagh-bane" superstition was, in some way, connected with the presence of white stones in ancient graves. What they say is,— "Can this be the origin of the superstitious dislike the natives still have to the use of the "claghbane" or "white stone"? Fishermen for instance will refuse to go to sea in a boat which has a white stone in the ballast." ("The Excavation of the Neolithic Stone Circle, etc.," by W. A. Herdman D. Sc., F. R. S. and P. M. C. Kermode. F. S. A. Scot.

5th—The dropping of white stones into anything as suggesting a funeral practice, would have grown to be considered unlucky.

6th—A white stone in a fisherman's boat is considered unlucky now when its original meaning has been entirely forgotten.

Thus a religious practice among Neolithic people may have come down to us in the form of a popular superstition, having its origin in the remote past when some savage found that quartz was good to make implements of.

The arrow heads and javelin heads I found at Rhenwyllin are more massive and very much ruder than those found in the circle on the Mull Hills. I found no similar ones at the Alfred Pier camp—floor, nor at Glen Wyllin, Michael, but, on the other hand, at both places were found small flakes delicately chipped to a very sharp point, which would have served admirably as arrow tips.

At Rhenwyllin I also found a hollow chisel, and near Mount Gawne another similar one. They are not polished like those found in the Danish Kjekkenmöddings. A large broad flake I found, at Rhenwyllin, seemed to be in process of being made into a spear head, or had been used as a scraper. Taking the implements as a whole they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Kjekkenmoddings, which are classed by Professor Worsæ as belonging to the late Palæolithic period, in contra-distinction to the beautifully worked arrow and spear heads found in tumuli, etc., which he classes as belonging to the later stone age. To whatever period the Rhenwyllin implements belong, judging by their rough workmanship, their makers were as low in civilization as the cave men of France.

APPENDIX.

(A.) Plate III gives the type of the two sandstone implements from Poolvaish. A comparison with Cumming's "rude wood cutting tools," may prove that the Poolvaish ones are not the first that have been found. The type I find is common enough as regards the bevel and cutting edge, but with a hole, generally, through the broad side. The originals are in the care of the Isle of Man Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Soc. *They are now in The Manchester Museum, F.S. 8.11.09.*

(B.) The Meayll Circle. My remarks upon the singularity of urns or interments below the cist floors were justified. Dr. Herdman and Mr. Kermodé have put on record that "in fact nearly all the pieces of pottery, and the flints, were found beneath the floor stones. How far this position is due to the cists having been disturbed before, it is impossible to say." ("The Excavation of the Neolithic Stone Circle on the Meayll Hills" etc., by W. A. Herdman. D. Sc. F. R. S. and P. M. C. Kermodé, F. S. A. Scot. 1894.) In this pamphlet they distinctly claim a Neolithic origin for this circle, the cists of which, according to them, contained only cremated remains. "Our examination of these remains shows that the people who inhabited the ancient village on the Meayll, and who erected and used the stone circle were in the Neolithic stage." But Mr. Kermodé later on changed his views, and gave a Bronze Age origin to the cists, while still holding on to the "rifling." "The floor stones rested on the undisturbed surface of mountain soil, yet strangely enough, nearly all the pieces of pottery, and flints, were found between this surface and the pavement. The speaker (Mr. Kermodé) thought this sufficiently accounted for by the known fact that the cists had been previously rifled; but Dr. Herdman looked upon it as proof that the burials had, in the first instance, been beneath the floors." ("The Meayll Circle."

by P. M. C. Kermodé, Vol. II. p. 120. Journal, Isle of Man Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Soc. 1901.)

These two gentlemen were, apparently, not aware that Canon Greenwell, in his examinations of British tumuli, which have thrown so much light on the superstitions which attended prehistoric burials, frequently found broken pottery, human bones, charcoal, etc. beneath the floors of barrows, ^{sometimes} often in holes dug beneath the cist-floors, though the holes contained only mould. (Clodd.) "The probability is that these cup-like hollows were receptacles for food and drink for the use of the dead." (Ibid.) The human bones in such places probably belonged to captives or slaves, slain that the dead should not be unattended in the spirit world. (Ibid.) There is great reason for believing that things intended for the use of the dead in the spirit world, were sometimes *broken before burial*. Speaking of round barrows of the early Celtic (Neolithic) period, Clodd says,—“These round barrows are modelled on the hut circles or pit dwellings, and the objects found in them are similar in character to those yielded by the dwellings. Celts, flakes, arrow heads and pottery lie jumbled together, many of the articles having been purposely broken so that their spirits might be freed to join the dead owner, and serve him as the thing's themselves had done during ^{his} life.” (“Story of Primitive Man.”) See also Prof. H. Stenning's remarks on the Cult of the Grave in his “Greek and Roman Mythology.”

From the secondary cist in the tumulus at Port St Mary there came a broken flint arrow-head and a broken bone spear point. (ante “The Early Neolithic Tumulus and Refuse Heap at Port St Mary.”) These were probably broken on account of the same superstition. It is noteworthy that just such a hole as those found by Canon Greenwell, was found beneath one of the Meayll cists by Dr. Herdman and

Mr. Kermodé. It was described and figured in their pamphlet,—they say “though neither urn nor bones were in it, they had probably been previously removed, and it was now filled with fine dark mould, which had filtered through the covering stones.”

These sub-floor remains appear to me to have been neither due to “rifling” nor to “first instance” burials. Most probably they were remains of provision for the dead, broken food-vessels, etc., lying undisturbed as when first put there before the erection of the cists. The cists themselves were found to have been almost entirely rifled, and most probably, in some cases at least, they originally contained unburnt bodies, more especially as the arrow heads found are of decided Neolithic character, and the rude scrapers and the round white stones indicate, if anything, Neolithic burials. Some time previously I had pointed out that rifling was in progress, but nothing, until too late, was done to forestall the curious “tripper.”

Mr. Kermodé, after finally adopting a Bronze Age origin for the cists, has, unintentionally, advanced evidence which appears to shew that the circle is, if anything, an early Neolithic one. For he contends that each triptaph, or set of three cists that form roughly the letter T with each other, is “a model of a passage grave, or long barrow”—the circle, according to this, being a group of miniature long barrows,—and in regard to this idea he goes on to make the following statement. “The arrangement of cists might belong to Neolithic times, *but the passage grave points to a later period, and a different people.*” The italics are mine. Here Mr. Kermodé ascribes long barrows or passage graves to the Bronze Age. (“The Meayll Circle,” etc. already cited. p. 120.)

This, unfortunately for Mr. Kermodé’s argument, is a negation of the established facts of prehistoric archaeology,

and of the archaeological maxim, "Long barrows, long skulls; round barrows, round skulls." Whether or not stone circles might belong to Neolithic times, and as being supposed to be copies of early Celtic houses, or hut circles, they probably do, there is no doubt as to what period passage graves belong.

"The long tumuli of Great Britain, resemble in some respects the Scandinavian "Ganggraben," and like them contain megalithic chambers, in which the dead were buried, not burnt." "Passage graves and long barrows seem always to belong to the Stone Age." (Lubbock. "Prehistoric Times," 1869.) "The primary interments in the long barrows are of the long-headed Iberians exclusively, the bodies being buried either at full length, or in a contracted position" (Clodd, "Story of Primitive Man," 1901.) "The round or oval barrows are the burial places of the broad-headed Celts exclusively." (Ibid.) Hence this circle would be late Neolithic (early Celtic) judging by its form, but Mr. Kermodé's model passage graves would seem to shew that it belongs to the early (Iberian) Neolithic period, when cremation not being practiced, urns were unknown! I submit that taking everything into consideration, and as we can as little reconcile Mr. Kermodé's Bronze Age circle to its model long barrows, as his Neolithic circle to exclusively urn interments, and round barrows being Celtic, the probability is that the circle is a late Neolithic one, with perhaps a few secondary Bronze Age urn interments.

But there is other unrecognised evidence pointing to unburnt bodies having occupied the Meayll cists. This is the "black oily substance" found below the cists. Dr. Herdman and Mr. Kermodé, having cremation in their minds, ascribed it to "burnt animal matter mixed with earth." With cremated bodies the flesh is reduced to ashes, and such bones as remain are dry, white, and porous. This I can attest from

actual observation in a country where cremation by identical means as obtained in the Bronze Age in Europe, is still common. This tarry substance seems to be consequent upon the decay of buried, not burnt, animal matter. It is extraordinarily enduring. Hugh Miller found it in the rocks of Orkney and Stromness, and beneath a fossil of *Asterolepis* of the Red Sandstone, "like thick tar." It reminded him of the appearance of the remains of a poor suicide, whose grave had been laid bare in a sandy cliff, and for a full yard beneath the white dry sand had been "consolidated into a dark coloured pitchy mass by the altered animal matter which had escaped from it, percolating downwards in the process of decay." ("Footprints of the Creator.") The "black oily substance" is to me conclusive proof that, some at least, of the Meayll cists originally contained unburnt bodies.

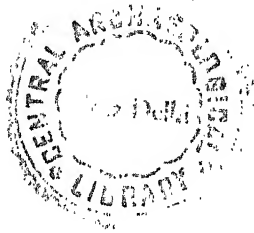
(C.) Fairies. "At a meeting of the British Association, Oxford, 1894, the Swiss Anthropologist, Dr. J. Kollmann, read a paper on "Pygmies in Europe," in connection with some human remains recently exhumed from the neolithic stratum of a pre-historic station, near Scaffhausen. Side by side with skeletons of the normal size, were found four or five averaging not more than 1'424, m m, say, 4 feet, 8 inches. Reference was also made in the same paper to the small people about 5 feet high still surviving in Sicily and Sardinia,who were regarded by Dr. Kollmann, not as degenerate Europeans, but as representatives of a distinct variety of mankind, which occurs in several types dispersed over the globe, and which he believes to have been the precursors of the taller races of mankind. Some support is lent to this view by the folklore of many northern peoples, and perhaps even by more substantial evidence, such as the remains of little people said to have been found in the Hebrides by Dean Munro in 1549, and by the traveller Marten in about 1703, and in an island of Hudson Bay in 1631 by Foxe, who tells us

that the longest corpses were not above four feet long," ("Ethnology," by A. H. Keane. F. R. G. S. 1896.) It is curious that among the African pigmies of to-day, the Wochua among others, their hair, according to Junker, is "of a dark, rusty brown hue." Others describe it as "tending to russet." De Quatrefages thinks "the precursor of man was red-haired." (Keane.)

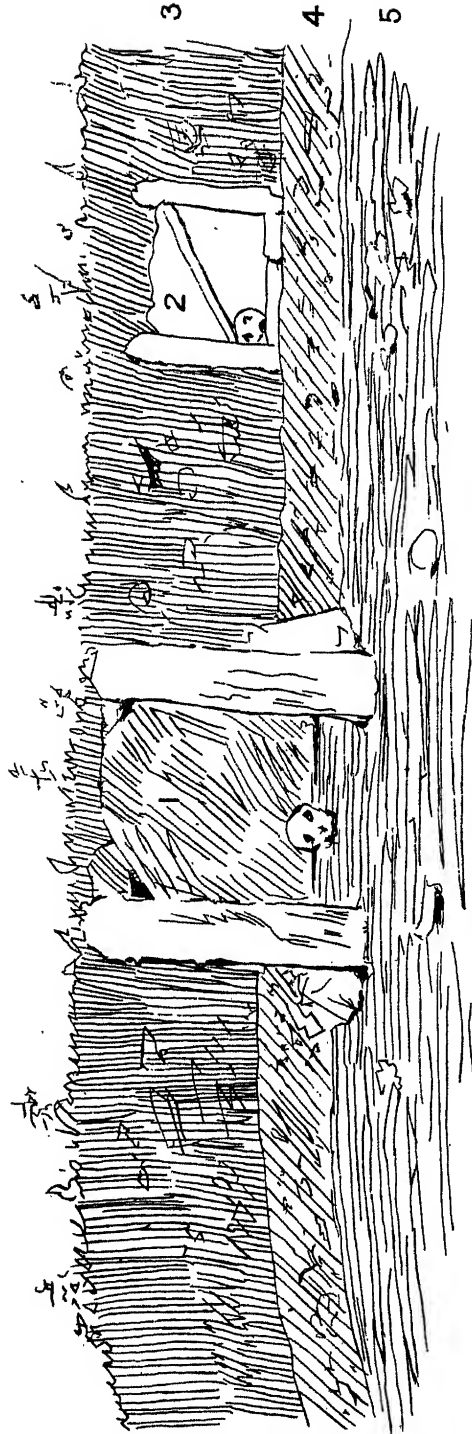
(D.) Hut circles. My remarks are fully borne out by what is known of Irish hamlets in the middle ages. They were generally groups of wicker cabins, and some still more primitive, near the duns of chiefs. Stone houses were very rare. "When St. Malachy, 12th. cent. thought of building a stone oratory at Bangor, it was deemed a novelty by the people." (Ency Brit.) "The round houses were made by making two basket-like cylinders one within the other, and separated by an annular space of about a foot, by inserting upright posts in the ground and interweaving hazel wattles between, the annular space being filled with clay. Upon the cylinder was placed a conical cap thatched with reeds or straw. The kreel houses of many Highland gentlemen in the last (18th.) century were made in this way excepting that they were not round." (Ibid.) It is obvious that such houses decaying and falling to ruin, would make "circles." The early Celts used such houses, as did the Neolithic people of the Swiss lakes.

The use of flint in the 11th cent. In a mound called Cronk Ball a queeney, near Port St. Mary, in 1874, were found some cists containing Anglo-Saxon coins of the 10th. cent. apparently associated with a flint implement, and a stone axe. (Moore's "Manx Place-names.") I do not know if it can be proved that the coins came out of the same cist as the stone axe and flint implement. The stone implements *may* have came out of the one prehistoric grave the mound contained.

It is a pity that so much valuable historical evidence has been wasted in the Isle of Man for want of expert examination and expert appreciation. I extend this remark to rude stone implements, which, I fear, are not thought worthy of attention if they are not fashioned in such a manner that their character is palpable to the casual examiner.

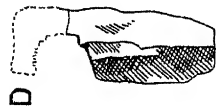
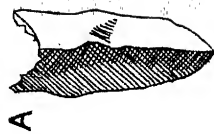


Early Neolithic Cists and Refuse Heap, Port St. Mary, Isle of Man.



1. Large cist, primary interment.
2. Small cist containing remains of three individuals, two below covering slab, one above.
3. Black earth containing stones, etc.
4. Yellow loam containing worked flints, fragments of pottery, and animal remains. It was probably the ancient surface before the mound (3) was heaped over the large grave.
5. Gravel and clay.—no flints.

Types of hollow scrapers from Port St. Mary and Glen Wyllin.



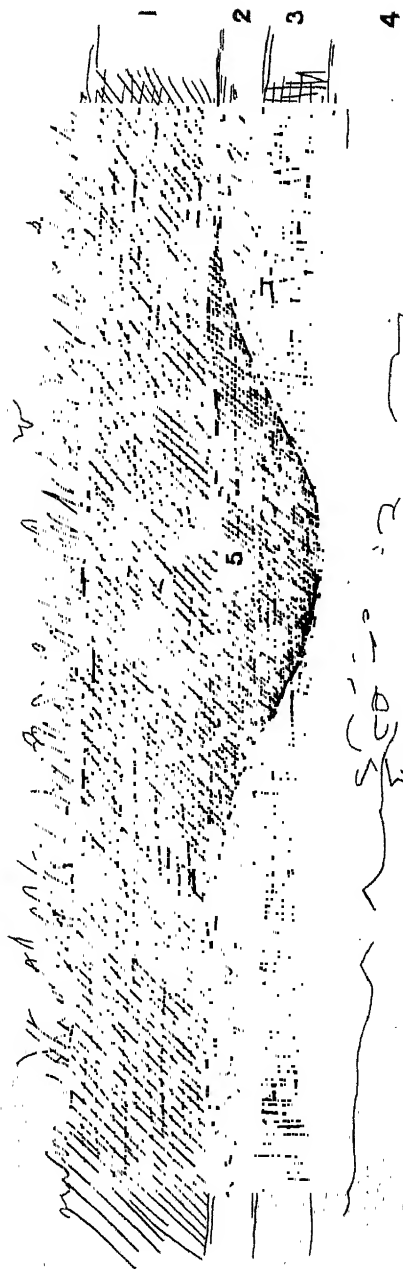
A. Hollow scrapers, Port St. Mary.

B. Small scrapers, Port St. Mary, Poolvaish, and Chunar, drawn too large.

C. Hollow scrapers, Glen Wyllin.

D. Broken hollow scrapers, Glen Wyllin.

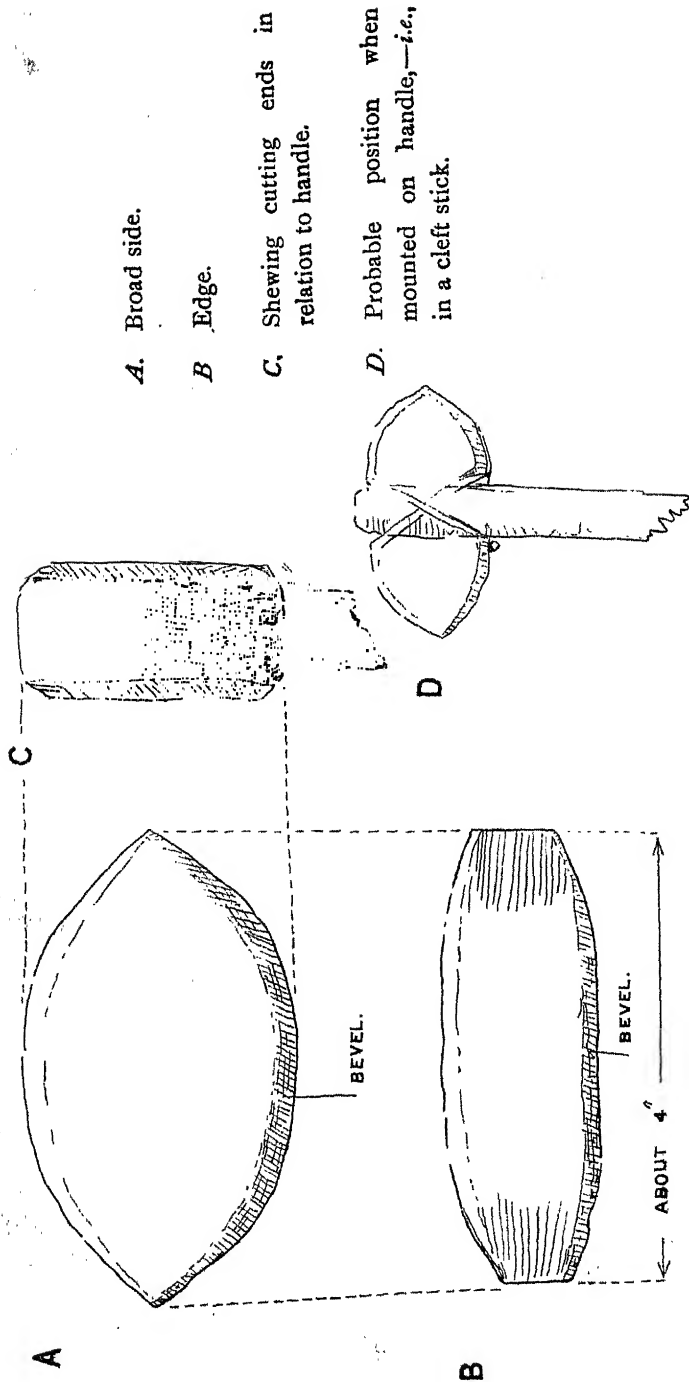
E. Double hollow scrapers, Glen Wyllin.



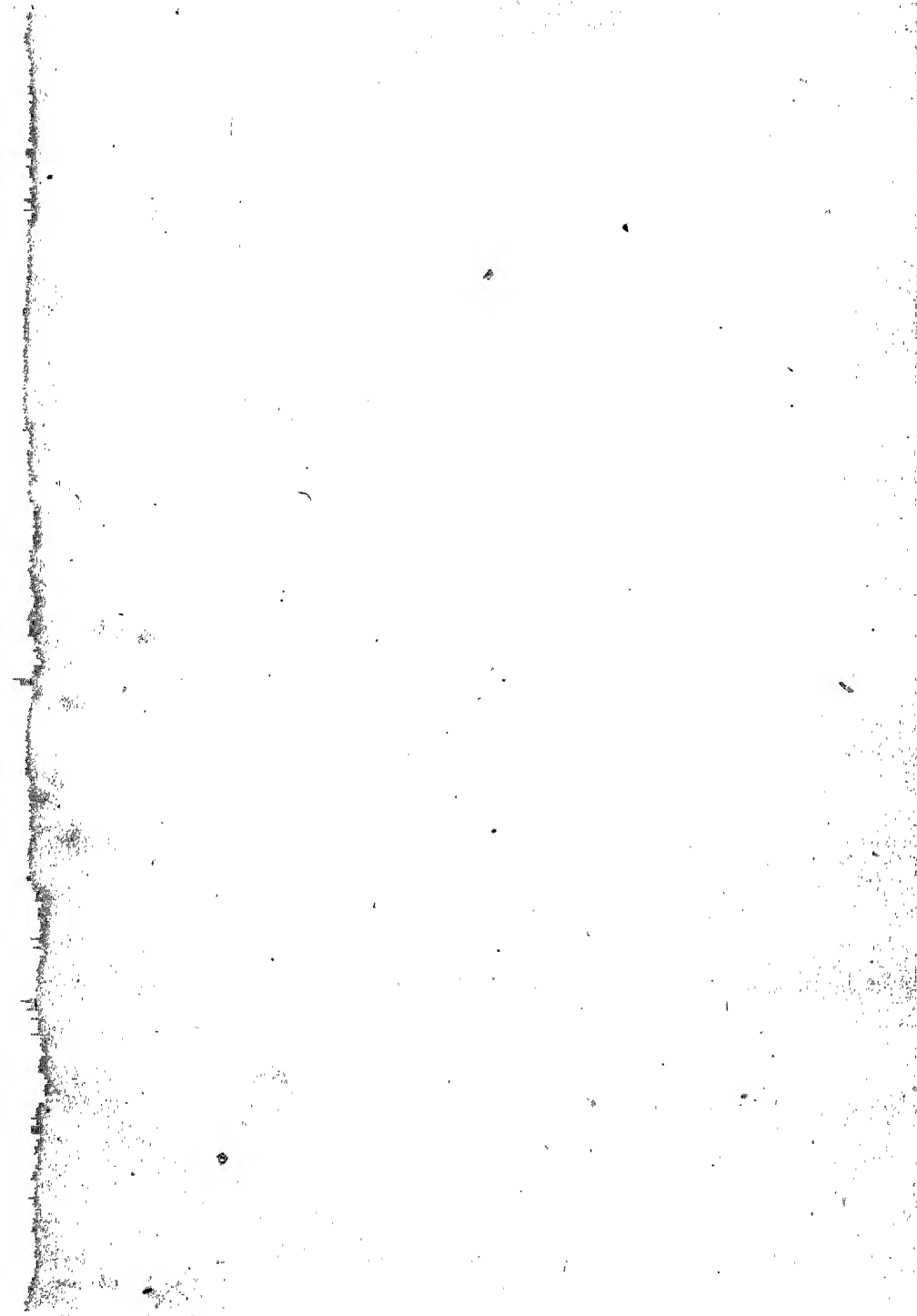
FIRE HOLE AT GLEN WYLLIN. Drawn from memory to illustrate position, &c.

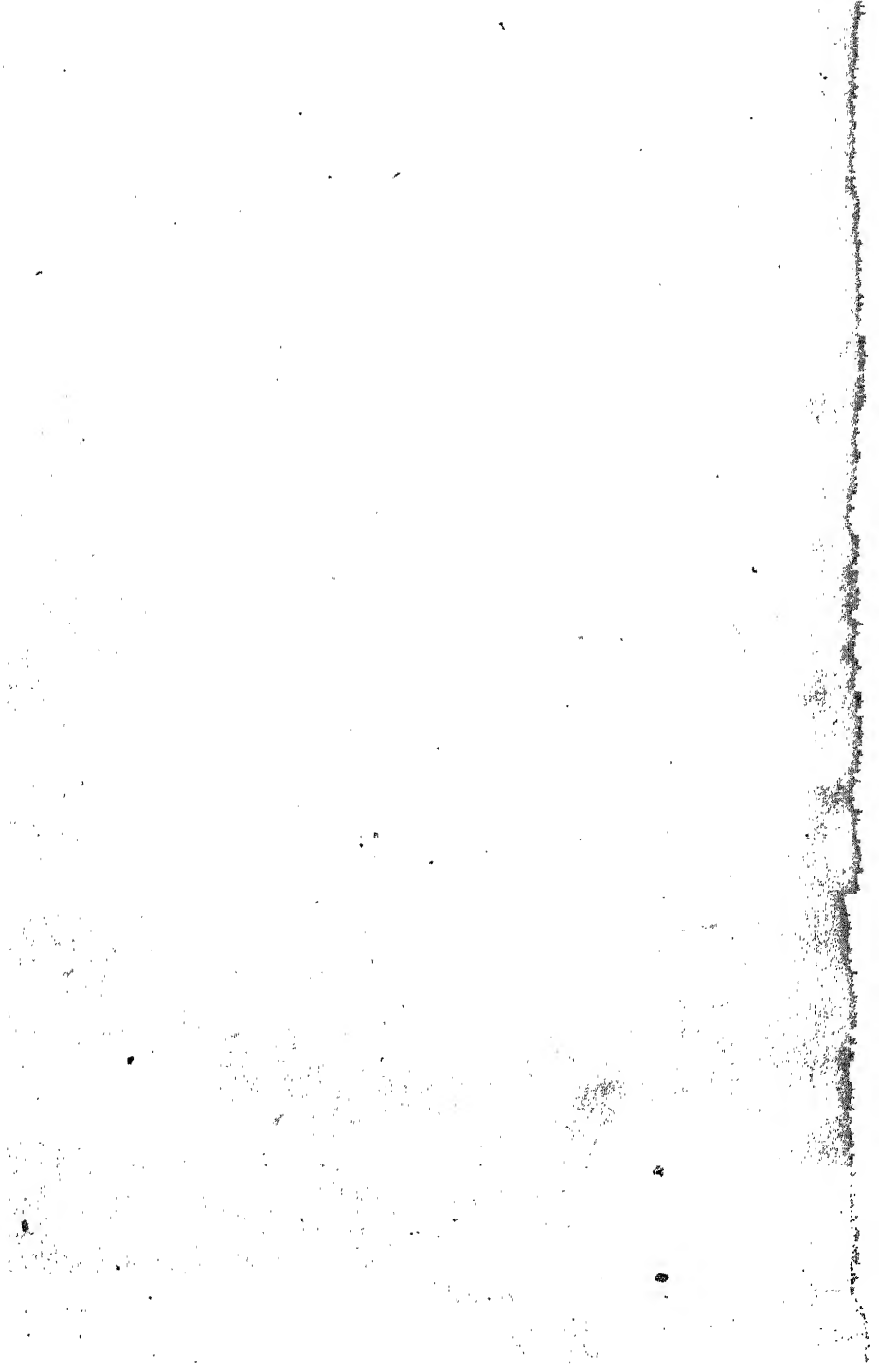
1. Modern accumulation of soil.
2. Flint earth or original surface.
3. Stratum of mould passing into
4. Sand and gravel.
5. Fire hole.

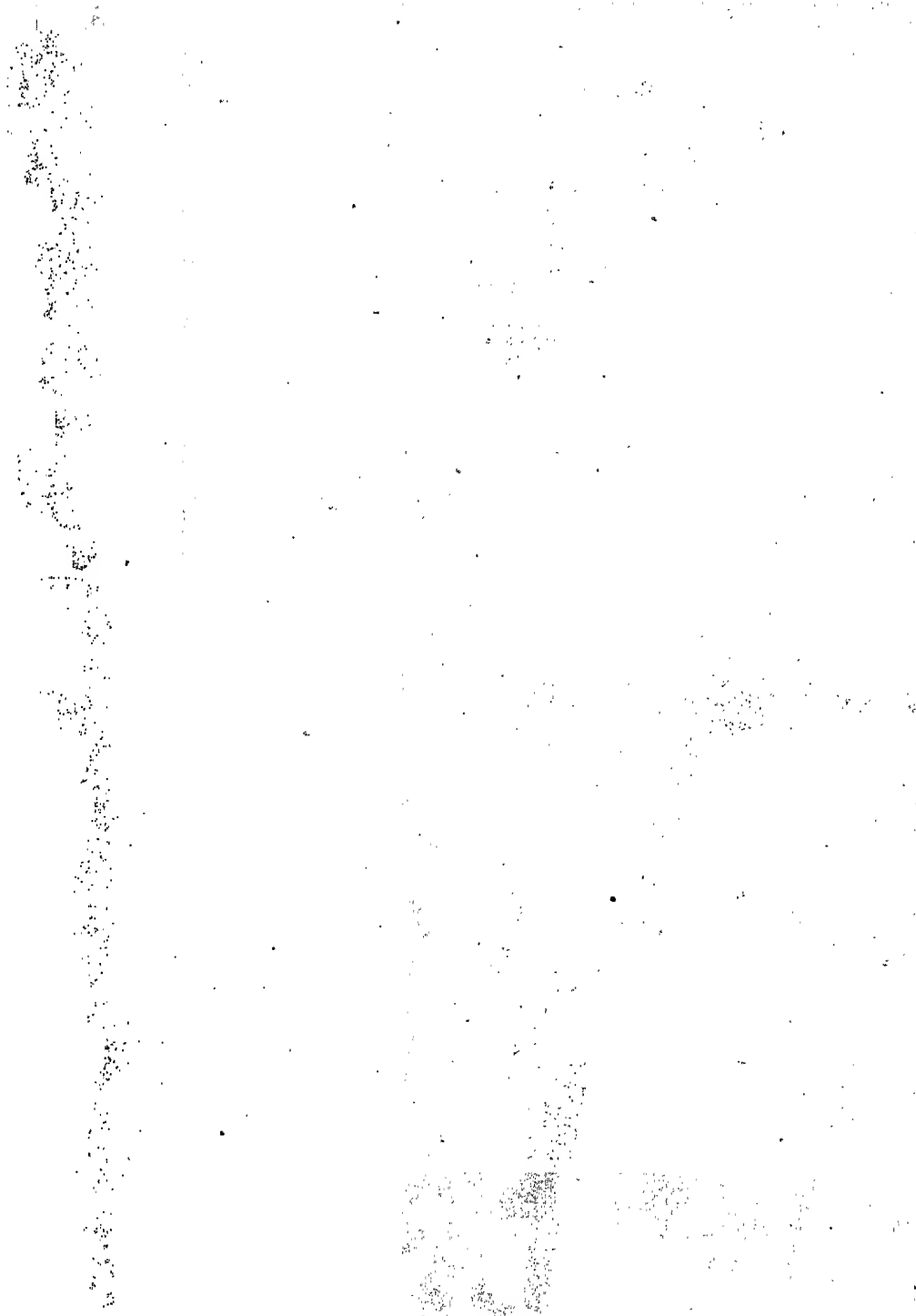
Sketch giving general type of two ground sandstone adzes, from a Neolithic site, at Poolvaish, Isle of Man. Found by F. Swynnerton, 1907.



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N.C

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